To the Right Honourable,

THE LORD *FAIRFAX*,

AND

His COUNCELL Of VVARRE:

THE

HVMBLE ADDRESSE

OF

HENRY HAMMOND.

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My Lord, and Gentlemen,

HAving by the Weekly occurrences of your proceedings, not onely taken notice of the weighty matters which you have of late chosen to be the subject of your Debates, such as never any Councell in this Kingdome are known to have taken into their cognizance, or consideration; but withall, discern'd the cheerfull and hospitable reception of one meane Persons advice, which pretended to have received some counsell from God to communicate to you: And having also as sincere a desire and zeale to your good, (testified by my daily prayers to God, that he wil incline your hearts to thoughts of true Christian meeknesse and charity) and consequently, as deep an interest in the due management of your Affaires, as any others; and as great an assurance, that what I shall say to you, proceeds from a peaceable, and an humble spirit; and which tends more immediately to your welfare, and honour, both before God and man, than any thing which is knowne of late to have been represented to you: And lastly, having among you some of the neerest of my bloud, whose eternall weale must needs be very deare and pretious to me; I am in the feare of God, and the prosecution and discharge of my duty and conscience, desirous to make this short addresse to you, to desire you, in the name, and in the bowels of *Jesus Christ*, and by all the obligations of Christian duty and Charity, to review some of the principles by which you seem to be acted, and whereon to ground the high enterprises which you have now in hand.

And 1. whereas you ſeem to believe, that God by his Spirit hath put it into your hearts to do what hitherto you have done, and what now you profeſſe to deliberate to doe further againſt His Majeſty, and all others, who are now fallen into your hands; I beſeech you to conſider in the preſence of that God, to whoſe directions and Spirit you pretend, what ſafe ground you have for ſo doing. For, I ſhall ſuppoſe that the plaine words of Scripture are not that voice of the Spirit which is your onely guide in this matter: or if it be, I deſire that Charity from you for my ſelfe and others, that you will point us out thoſe Scriptures: and I muſt profeſſe to believe you bound in duty to God, and man, and to your ſelves, to ſatisfie this deſire, to produce that voice of the Spirit in the received Scriptures of God, which may ſay that to other Chriſtians alſo which it appeares to doe to you. But if Gods Spirit be by you conceived to have ſpoken to you any other way than in, or by ſome part of the written Word; then my ſecond requeſt is, that you will declare to others the ground of this your perſwaſion, that you have received any ſuch Revelation from God; that ſo that pretended *Spirit* may according to the rules preſcribed by God in his acknowledged Word be tried and examined regularly, *Whether it be of God, or no?* before the ſubject-matter of ſuch Revelation be believed infallible, or accordingly built upon by you as your warrant or principle of acting any thing. For, there are *evill Spirits* that come into the world, and which many times are by God permitted to ſeduce men, and that they may doe ſo the better, they conſtantly pretend to come from God, and aſſume divine Authority to recommend and authorize their deluſions; (a thing ſo ordinary in all Ages, that the Poet that would expreſſe the Imbroyling of a Kingdome, thinks he cannot doe it better then by bringing in *Alecto*, a *Fury*, with a Meſſage from Heaven, to avenge ſuch or ſuch an injury.) And of theſe our Saviour forewarns us, and tells us, that *We ſhall know them by their fruits*; and ſo directs us to judge of the truth of their pretenſions by the goodneſſe and commendableneſſe, at leaſt, juſtifiableneſſe of their *actions*, and not to judge of their *actions* by their *pretences*. And beſides theſe *evill ſpirits* from without, there is alſo an *evill ſpirit* within, a great deale of diſguiſed wickedneſſe in the heart of man, which when it

it remaines unmortified in thoſe who believe themſelves to be *Gods choſen Saints, and taught by him*, is very apt to be miſtaken for an inclination of *Gods Spirit*, and *a flame of zeale*, when it is really the moſt contrary to it: and becauſe there is ſo much danger, that what is not fetcht from the acknowledged Word of God, may thus flow from one of theſe contrary principles: my next requeſt is, that it be conſidered, whether when *an Angel from Heaven*, in caſe he ſhould *teach any other Doctrine, than what had been by Saint* Paul *preached* to his *Galathians*, were to be *anathematized*, and when the judgments are ſo fearfull, which are pronounced againſt them which *ſhall adde to the Words of that Propheſie*, which we now reteine under the title of the *Apocalyps* or *Revelation* (which being the laſt Writing which is knowne to be dictated by the *Spirit*, may very probably conteine a ſevere denuntiation againſt all thoſe, who pretend to any *Revelation* or *Propheſie* after that, concerning the Chriſtian Church) whether I ſay it be not a matter of fear and juſt apprehenſion, to all thoſe, who ſhall affix or impoſe upon the Spirit of God (or pretend to be revealed to them from that) any matter of Doctrine or Practice, which acknowledges not the Spirit of God ſpeaking in the Scripture for its onely warrant or foundation. Or laſtly, if from the Scriptures you conceive it may be proved, that any part of the *Unction* mentioned there ſo farre belongs to you, that it ſhall ſurely *lead you into all truth*: then firſt, I beſeech you to conſider, whether you doe not oblige your ſelves by the ſame, or ſome other Scripture to prove to others (and not onely your ſelves to be perſwaded) that you are thoſe ſpeciall Saints of God, to whom that priviledge peculiarly belongs, and as clearly to demonſtrate that all others who conceive that that Unction teaches them directly the contrary to that which you profeſſe to be taught by it, are impious Perſons poſſeſt with that deluding Spirit, which I now deſire you to beware of. And ſecondly, to examine whether this differencing of your ſelves from others, this bearing witneſſe to your ſelves, and judging others (beſide that it will looke like an act of moſt *Phariſaicall* preſumption, and the very thing, which from *Simon Magus* downward, hath been obſerved in all Hereticks, calling themſelves *the Spirituall*, and all others *Animal, carnall Men*) will not be alſo a great injuſtice at

this time toward them who pretend not to learne any thing from this Unction, but what they receive from the Doctrine of the Goſpel, in thoſe Books, which have in effect, and in the laſt reſult, the teſtimony of God from Heaven, that they are his true infallible Word, and dictate of his Spirit; and which deſire to make no other uſe of this to their owne advantage, but onely to preſerve them in a quiet poſſeſſion of what by Law belongs to them, and a capacity of making good their Allegiance to Him, to whom they have often by Law been required to ſweare it.

A ſecond principle which I muſt deſire you to review, is that, upon which you conclude that God hath borne teſtimony to your Cauſe by the many Victories which he hath given you: this concluding of yours, firſt, proceeds upon a premiſe directly falſe in matter of fact. For, you ſay that the King by taking up Armes made His *appeale to Heaven*, which 'tis moſt certain that He never did, (but onely uſed a ſtrength which God put in his hands to repell them, whom He look'd on as His Subjects declining their duty to Him, and invading the ſetled Lawes, and never referred the right of the Cauſe to be judged by the ſucceſſe of His Armes) nor indeed could rationally have occaſion to doe ſo, any more than any one of you would make ſuch appeale, when a violent Perſon ſhould invade, what you conceive to be your undoubted right; nor could He religiouſly, or Chriſtianly have done this, when thoſe Lawes that allow'd of ſuch appeales by *Ordeale*, or *Duell*, and the like, have been juſtly cenſured as unchriſtian and barbarous. Nay ſecondly, this concluding of yours will by the ſame reaſon infer that Chriſtianity is not, and that Mahumetiſme is the true Religion, becauſe when the Turkes aſſerted one, and the Greek Church the other, and that difference begat a Warre betwixt them, 'tis cleare that the Turkes were ſucceſsfull, and the Greeke Church was moſt ſadly waſted and ſubdued by them, and ſo remaineth to this houre in that unreturn'd Captivity. Which will therefore be a fit opportunity to make you revert to the trying of that Spirit (which inclines you thus to argue) by this touch-ſtone. 1. By conſidering and examining whether in the written Word any thing be more frequent and viſible than the *ſufferings of Gods people*, the *ſhedding the blood of the Saints*, the laſhing all kind of contumelies on ſuch, particularly that reproach of [*you bloudy*

bloudy men] upon *David*, who was a *King after Gods heart*, the *ſending* or permitting *an Hoſt againſt the daily ſacrifice to caſt down the truth to the ground, and to practice and proſper.* 2. Whether it were not *Rabſhekeh's* Argument againſt the Peoples adhering to their lawfull *King Hezekiah*, that his Maſters Armes had been invincible. 3. Whether that ſaddeſt fate of *Nebuchadnezzar*, who for conquering of Gods people, and others, was by God ſtiled *his Hammer*, and *Battleaxe of the whole earth*, may not be expected the finall lot of others alſo; firſt, to deſtroy men, and then to be caſt out into the field, to inhabit among Beaſts. 4. Whether it were not a crime complained of by the people of God, in thoſe, which, when God was a *little diſpleaſed*, did as Adverſaries, *help forward their affliction.* And 5. whether the Pſalmiſt lay not the like ill character on all, who *perſecute thoſe whom God hath ſmitten*, and *talke how they may vex them whom God hath wounded?* By all which it is moſt evident, (without any neceſſity of defining or demonſtrating any thing of the juſtice of the Cauſe) that moſt commonly the proſperity of Armes hath not been *the lot of the* moſt *righteous*, but that either the *chaſtiſement* of the Sword is thought fit to be their *diſcipline*, or the comforts of peace (and not the triumphs of warre) their *bleſſing* in this life.

The third principle is, your perſwaſion that the *community of the People is the Supreme power, and that the KING is inferiour to them, and to them accountable for His breach of Truſt, of which you now affirme Him guilty.* In this procedure of yours, there be many things worthy of your ſerious pondering: As whether 1. by Scripture: or 2. by Reaſon: or 3. by Story of times it can be concluded, that the *Supreme Power* was ever by God put into the hands of the community of the People. For the firſt way of concluding it, (the teſtimony of Scripture) I cannot but take notice of one place, which hath been produced to that purpoſe, 1 *Pet.*2. 13. *Be ſubject to every humane Ordinance*, or *Creature*, or *Creation*, &c. This place I have ſome reaſon to believe to carry ſome weight with you, becauſe it was 6 years ſince for the juſtifying the Cauſe againſt the *King's party*, produced by a Perſon of great dexterity, That very Perſon, who hath now undertaken to juſtifie your late proceedings ſo farre as not onely to clear them from

from all blame, but alſo to pretend to *demonſtrate the honour and worth of them*, and to lift them up to an high pitch, not onely, 1. of a *bleſſed victory* (the higheſt that Chriſtians are appointed to aſpire to) *of overcomming evill by doing good*: but 2. of *calling to* mens *minds the unparellable example of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who went downe into the Chambers of death, from thence to bring up with him a loſt world*: and 3. of being a *lineament of the face of Divine goodneſſe, in the doing good to ſo many, as well Enemies, as Friends*: and 4. *deſerving that place at the table of honour, which the Roman Orator ſaith, all Nations beſtowed on the Aſſertors of their Countries liberties*, even *next to the immortall Gods themſelves*: and 5. of *imitating the method of the warfare of Heaven, and ſeeking to reconcile a Nation to themſelves by not imputing their unthankefulneſſe*. The largneſſe and exorbitancy of theſe expreſſions I was my ſelfe ſo amaz'd at, that I cannot but mention them to you (by the way) as matters of horrour, which like the Peoples acclamation to *Herod*, or the *Lycaonians* to *Paul and Barnabas*, if they beget not in you a juſt indignation with the latter, may very probably bring the juſt fate of the former upon you, *to be eaten up with Wormes*, (after you have been thus *deified*) now, that you have no other viſible Enemy but your ſelves, and ſuch Flatterers, (that I ſay no worſe) to appeare againſt you, having craved your pardon for this not unſeaſonable excurſion, I return now to the view of that Scripture, produced from Saint *Peter*, to prove *Kings* to be a *creation* or creature of men, and ſo their power to be derived from the People. To which I Anſwer, 1. that there is a ſignall character in that very Text, that keeps it from concluding the *ſupreme power* to be *originally* in the *People*, not only by calling the *King* in the end of that Verſe, *Supreme*; ſuch as in Saint *Pauls* divinity, *Rom.* 13. are affirmed to be *ordained of God*, and ſo no *humane Ordinance*, but alſo by diſtinguiſhing the *Governours*, v. 14. from the *King* or *Supreme*, v. 13. by this that the *Governours* are *ſent by* (*i. e.* have Commiſſion from) the *King*, which might in like manner be alſo affirmed of the *King*, that He were ſent by the *People*, if He were the Creature, or creation of them, but is not ſo much as intimated by that Apoſtle; but on the contrary, *ſupremacy* affixt to Him, and *ſubjection* commanded to be paid Him (not for the *Peoples*, but for the *Lords ſake*) as ſubordination

tion to, and *mission* from the *King*, is affirm'd of all other *Magistrates*. But then 2. to take away all colour of plea for *popularcy* from this Text, it is to be observed what is the meaning of the Greek word in the New Testament, which is there rendred * *ordinance*, or *creature*, or *creation*. That word when it is set in its largnesse without any restraint, signifies generally *all mankind*, Gentiles, as well as Jewes. Thus [*the creation*] and [*the world*] are all one, and [*all the creation*] (or *every creature*) *Mar.* 16. 15. the same with [*the whole world*] in the beginning of that Verse, and [*all Nations*] in the parallel places of Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Luke*. And thus *Rom.* 8. 19. [*the expectation of the creature*, or *creation*] is the hope which the *heathen world* had, that at the *revelation* of the gracious priviledges of the *Messias*, they (*i.e.* the *Gentiles*) also should be *freed from the slavery of corruption* (their villainous heathen sinnes) *unto the liberty*, &c. that true liberty not from obedience to Superiours, but from slavery to lusts and passions, which Christ came to bestow upon us; And so when *v.* 22. 'tis added, that the *whole creation groanes*, &c. the cleare meaning is, that the *Gentiles* as well as *Jewes* did thus, as might be evidenced at large. Agreeable to this notion of the *Whole creation*, or *every creature*, is this same phrase (with the addition of *humane*, to take off all restraint, and to extend it as far as all mankind) to be understood, and so the meaning of the precept of Saint *Peter* to his *Jew-Christians* is clearly this and no more, that they must be *obedient* not onely to *Christian* Magistrates, but to *Gentiles*, *Heathen* also, (such as they should fall under in all their *dispersions*) *i.e.* to all whatsoever they were, and that *for the Lords sake* who constituted those Heathens also, as Saint *Paul* saith. If to this it shall be objected, that by this way of interpreting, the precept will be extended so, as to subject us to *all Heathens*, and not onely to *Magistrates*: I answer, that this, which is the onely objection against this interpretation, is of little force, and is answered, 1. by observing the word [*be subject*] which relating to *Magistrates* will require our obedience to none, but those, as *v.* 17. when he commands to *honour all*, it must be understood, all to whom *honour belongs*; Superiours, not Inferiours: or as, when *ch.* 5. 5. he commands them to be *subject to one another*, it must not be understood, that the *Superiour* must be subject to the

* Κτίσις.

Inferiour,

Inferiour, as the *Inferiour* to the *Superiour*, but as the nature of the duty inforces to interpret, the *Inferiour* to be subject to the *Superiour* onely: and 2. by the Apostles expresse enumeration of those to whom this obedience must be paid in the end of the Verse, *to the King as Supreme*; and then, *v.*14. to *Governours*, as inferiour Magistrates *sent by Him*. That this is the full importance of that place, may (if there be any need) farther appeare by the occasion of the Apostles discourse, which was the confuting of the vile sect of Christians then calling themselves *Gnosticks*, (as a title of great perfection of *knowledge* in the Mysteries of Heaven) who taught the doctrine of *liberty* and manumission to *Christian Subjects* or *Servants*, from heathen (yea and *Christian*) *Masters*, and *Kings*; To which false doctrine of theirs this Exhortation thus interpreted is directly contrary (and cannot otherwise be pertinent to it) and very coherent to that Admonition in the 12 *ver.* immediately preceding, of *having their conversation good among the Gentiles, that they might not speake ill of them as evill Doers*; which they would be justly apt to doe, in case they should withdraw their obedience to their lawfull Princes, as soone as they were become Christians; which, by the way, laies a very ill character upon those, who by pretence of *Christianity*, or *piety*, seeke, or claime to themselves any other *liberty*, than what by the *Lawes* under which they are borne, doth confessly belong unto them.

Having thus farre enlarged to cleare that testimony of Scripture, and not knowing of any other which is thought favourable to your pretension, I shall, in stead of retorting the multitude of plaine places directly opposite, which will abundantly take away all force from this: proceed next to the second plea, that of *Reason*. And there I shall desire you to consider, 1. Whether if *Adam* had never fallen, and his posterity remained in the same *innocence*, they would not yet have been capable of *positive precepts* in order to civill life; and consequently, whether in reason some one or more men should not have had superiority over all others, Parents over Children, and the like; and to this purpose, whether the divers Orders, and subordination of the Angels, that never fell, be not an evidence that even in state of innocence, God designed superiority, not equality. But then 2. The passions of men

men being through ſin grown irregular, and ſo needing Rules and Lawes, and Rulers and Law-makers, it was both reaſonable, that God ſhould, and is moſt certaine that he did deſigne and appoint Government (as appears by what is ſaid by God to the firſt Woman, and ſecond Man, to *Eve*, *Gen.* 3. 16. and to *Cain*, *Gen.* 4. 7.) and ſo gave not all men that freedome which is the ſuppoſed foundation of that doctrine, which places *ſupreme power in the People*. And of any rationall perſon that yet thinks he did give this freedome to all mankind; I ſhould but aske this one queſtion, Whether ever any man were by God or nature inveſted with power of his owne life; I meane, with power to take away his owne life, or to kill himſelfe? In every thing elſe man may be believed to have a *power* over himſelfe, over his *body*, to cut or lance it, when that is for his turne, and particularly over that *freedome* which naturally belongs to him; whatever the degree of that be, a man may by act of his owne will, part with it irreverſibly. Thus might the *Jew* under Gods owne government, give himſelf up wholly into the power of his *Maſter*, and by having his *eare bored* thorough, become from a *Free-man*, a *Slave for ever*, and generally thorow the whole world the courſe hath been the ſame, that he which is moſt free hath power over his owne liberty ſo to diveſt himſelf of it, as that it ſhall never revert to him againe; and our *Saviour* that is thought to have brought *liberty* into the world, doth yet, by the quality of moſt of his *precepts*, given to Chriſtians by himſelfe and his Apoſtles, marke out this condition of *ſubjection* to them, as that under which they were generally to live, and from which the *Chriſtian profeſſion* ſhould be ſo farre from freeing them, that the ſtrict practice of *obedience* to heathen Rulers or Maſters, is oft preſcribed as a ſpeciall meanes to advance Chriſts maine end, to magnifie and promote the Goſpel. But for power over a mans owne *life* no man can be believed to be borne with it, for if he were, he might then as lawfully *kill himſelfe* (and if he might doe it *lawfully*, there are many caſes which might make it *prudent* for him to do it at ſome times) as pul out an aking tooth, or diſpoſe of his *liberty* or eſtate out of his owne poſſeſſion; a thing which no Chriſtian hath ever thought lawfull, but made this *felonia de ſe*, this ſelf-murther, or felony againſt ones ſelfe, a crime, as contrary

to the ſixt Commandement, as the *killing of any other man.* Having proceeded thus farre, I ſhall now take that for granted, which, that I know of, is denied by none, I am ſure, which is not denied in the publiſht ſcheme of the deſigned *Repreſentative, viz.* that the *ſupreme power* includes the *power of life,* (I meane not ſuch an *arbitrary* power of killing whom they pleaſe without ſinne, but a power of putting capitall Malefactors to death, and ſo a *power* over every (call it Subjects or Free-mans) *life* in caſe of capitall crime) And the granting of this (as 'tis too viſible that it is by you a granted truth) being added to the former, doth to me irrefragably conclude, that the *ſupreme power* neither is, nor can be in the *community of the People,* or in their *Repreſentative,* by force meerly of their *originall* or *naturall liberty*; The inference is cleare, becauſe the *power of life* which is part of the *Supremacy,* is not part of that *naturall liberty,* and therefore is neither inherent naturally in that *community of men,* (which is but, in other words, ſo many particular men together, indow'd with that *power* (and no more) which every man hath *ſingly* over himſelf) nor conſequently by them communicable to any *Repreſentative.* And by this alſo it appeares, that *ſupreme Magiſtracy,* whereſoever 'tis truly placed, is the *ordinance,* and *creation of God,* (who alone hath *power* of all mens *lives*) and not of *man,* who hath no *power* of his *owne,* much leſſe of any others life, any farther then he is a *Repreſentative,* or *Proxy,* or *Deputy of God,* who hath that *Power,* not of the *People,* who have it *not.* For it is poſſible I may put you in mind of an evident truth, which perhaps you have not taken notice of; That, as the *originall* of *Government* in any particular place cannot be imagined to be by any more than two waies, Either *Gods deſignment,* or the *Peoples act*; ſo in either of thoſe two caſes 'tis *God* onely, and not the *People,* that gives the *power of the Sword,* or *power of Life* to the *Governour*; when *God himſelfe* ſets a *King* over men, 'tis ſo cleare that *he* thus impowers *that King,* that that need not be proved; and when the *community of a People* (ſuppoſe in the *Originall,* ten men in the *freedome of nature*) *chuſe* one of themſelves, or more to rule over them; 'tis cleare, they doe not inveſt him with more *power* than themſelves had; & that he that was thus choſen by them, hath the *power of life* over any of them (which they ſingle, or all together in the

community

community had not) muſt needs come from ſome other, and not from them; and if you will know from whom it comes, I anſwer, that it comes from *Gods appointment* (for the œconomy of the world) that the ſupreme Magiſtrate ſhall as his Deputy have this *power* from *God* communicated to him, as an endowment neceſſary to that *power* which is deſign'd to protect, and governe others. And in caſe it were the act of the *People*, and not of *God* immediately, that deſignes or *nominates* the *Perſon* to that Office, yet doth not this *nomination* beſtow this *power*, but *God* who alone *hath* that power, beſtowes it on him who is thus *nominated*. In this caſe all that the *People* beſtow, or part with by their act is their *owne liberty*, or that part of it of which they voluntarily diveſt themſelves, that they may by *obedience* empower him, whom they have ſet over them; & that they may reaſonably part with for that greater benefit of *protection* from him, which, while he is obeyed by all, he may by their united *obedience* to his commands be able to afford them, and could not probably without it; now this giving up their *liberties* to one, or more, makes that man, or men a *Ruler* over them; and being a *Ruler*, to him belongs (derived from *God*, not from *them*) that *power of life, and death*, which Gods forementioned decree hath enſtated on the *ſupreme power*, or *Ruler*; who is therefore in that relation (of *Avenger for wrath*, or puniſhment) ſtiled by the *Apoſtle*, *the Miniſter of God*, *Rom.* 13. and not of the *People*. By this it appeares that (for the originall of power) the utmoſt that comes from the *People*, is that of which they have the *power*, till by ſome act of Gods, or their owne, they have parted with it, the liberty or power of their *Perſons* (or in ſome ſort and degree, as they ſhall part with it, of their *bodies*, or *poſſeſſions* in like manner) but not of their *lives*; For that other is of an higher origination; and therefore, ſuppoſing the *power* they had parted with, ſhould, upon any emergent, revert to them againe, yet the *power of life and death*, or of the *Sword* can never revert, becauſe it never proceeded from them, but as the *ſoule* that came from *God* doth at the falling of the *body* back to its elements, or earth, from which it was firſt taken, *returne to the hands of God that gave it*, ſo the *power of life*, the *prerogative* firſt, and then the *gift* or inveſtiture of *God*, muſt at the diſſolution of any Government, and the ſup-

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poſed *reverting* to its principles againe, returne to its proper fountaine, to *God*, and none but him. And to imagine it to divolve to the community of the people, is the ſame unreaſonable, as to conceive the *immortall ſoule*, that one beame of *divinity* (as this *power of life and death* is another) to accompany the carcaſſe to the grave alſo. I have inſiſted the longer on this to make the miſtake the more palpable, and the more impoſſible not to be diſcerned by you; and if I could foreſee any colour of reaſon, that could poſſibly pretend againſt this evidence, I ſhould yet enlarge yours, and my owne trouble, to diſcover it; but being, I profeſſe, unable to mention any thing, which the grounds, which are already laid, have not prevented: I ſhall now proceed to the third and laſt way of examining this truth.

By the hiſtory of times, and there I ſhall be forced to retract, at leaſt to ſuſpend the acknowledging of that, which, that I might examine it by reaſon, I was willing to *ſuppoſe*, but not *grant*, and ſhall now demand,

1. Whether by any authentick *ſtory* it appeares, that there ever were any Nation or People in the world, who can be preſumed or proved to have had this *ſupreme power* veſted in the whole *community originally*, or from their firſt comming together? or if ſo, whether *Gods* judgment ſo viſibly interpoſed, and the example of his inſtituting of *Judges*, and of *Kings*, (neither of them accountable to the People) be not to be preferred before all ſuch preſidents?

2. If 'twere granted, that in ſome *one*, or more places the *power* hath been *originally* in the People, yet it will never appeare by the originalls of *all*, or of *this* Kingdome, that in *all* or in *this* it was ſo; or if men will ſtill *opiniate*, and affirme againſt the evidence of the *Lawes*, and *conſtitution* of this Kingdome, and againſt thoſe *Oaths* which have for ſo many yeares acknowledged the ſeat of the *Supremacy in the King*, and not in the *People*; yet that, which is ſo falſe in matter of fact, being taken for truth alſo, there will againe be matter of inquiry, in point of *reaſon*, which will deſerve your farthermoſt ſerious pondering:

1. Whether, after that the *People* have upon deliberation, and from *choice* intruſted ſome *one* or *more* Perſons (in any certaine courſe of *ſucceſſion* by *Law* deſigned) to *rule* over them, and after the

the *Law* hath declared the *person* of that *Supream Magistrate* not to be *accountable*, but his *Ministers* only, (which may be a *prudence* of State, more advantagious to a peoples peace, then possibly is well understood) whether, I say, in this case any number of men whatsoever, can, upon any pretence, *re-call* that *Trust*, and *void* that *Law*, by which that KING, and His Heires for ever, were constituted the *Ruler* of them? or if they might, whether this were not most contrary to the *end* of all Government, *quiet*, and *peace*, and probably the parent of all *confusion* in the world, which is much worse than the *hardest subjection*?

Nay 2. if it should be granted still, that the *community of people* have power to *recall*, or *void that trust*, yet 'twill be matter of more than doubt againe, whether at *this* time in *this* Kingdome there be any way for the *whole community* to act, or whether it can by any man be reasonably believed, that what is *now* done, is *acted* by the *community of the People*?

For if (to that purpose) it be conceived, that the *House of Commons* is (or that the two Houses together are) the *Representative* of *all* the *People*; Then first, it is to be considered that there is a great number of men in this *Kingdome*, that are *not* represented by *these*, and who never put (nor can by any interpretation be thought to have put) into their hands that *Power*, which is supposed to be in every free *Commonwe* in this Kingdome. 2. That you your selves have expresst your opinion, that this, which now is, is an *unequall Representative*, and have on that consideration thought your selves obliged to *propound* another Forme. 3. 'Tis sure, that (whatever *possibly might* have been) yet they, that have ever till this time chosen *Knights* or *Burgesses* to the *Parliament*, did never actually put into their hands, as into their *Representatives*, *all* that *power*, which (in this case of the *Peoples* being the *Supreme Power*) is naturally supposed to be vested in them, but only a *power* of doing those things, for which the Writ (sent out under the *Broad Seal*) did command them to be returned, *i.e. to consult with the King of the difficult affaires of the Kingdome*, not to *settle any part of it without, or against Him*. And 4. 'Tis clear, that in such an acknowledged conjuncture of time as this is, a *small* (farre lesse) *part* of those that were *returned* by the Countries, cannot be said to be that *entire* company,

party, or body, by which the *whole community* is represented; Or if it be said, that the *godly People of the Land*, who by *Petitions* to the *Generall*, the *Lord Fairfax* have expreſt their deſires, that *Juſtice* be executed upon thoſe, whom they call *Delinquents*, are to be reputed as the *community of the People*: then firſt, it will be clear, that thoſe that have ſo *Petitioned* (beſide, that they are moſt of the body of the *Army*) are not the thouſandth part of the people of this *Kingdome*, and therefore cannot by any rule of Judgement or Eſtimation be reputed as the whole *Community*; and if this *preſident* might be admitted, that a *few* perſons, under the title of the *Godly*, may pretend to the right of the *Whole*, tis very well worth foreſeeing, how *dangerous* ſuch *examples* may prove to the *peace* of Poſterity. 2. All the evidence of their *godlineſſe* that we can perceive, is only their deſiring *liberty* for themſelves and others, and therefore *Juſtice* on thoſe who ſtand in their way to that *liberty*; and I conceive it demonſtrable that a quiet *ſubmiſſion* and *obedience*, and a deſire not to caſt off their *duty*, but ſtill to continue under it, rather then to be their own *carvers*, or contrivers of *liberty*, is a farre ſurer ſigne of *true godlineſſe*. And thirdly, there hath yet been no fair indifferent meanes uſed to know whether there be not farre greater numbers of ſuch *godly* meek men, who would rather deſire that the KING ſhould be reſtored to His Government, then that any courſe ſhould be taken by any, *without*, or *againſt the* KING. And the plain truth is, that if you will go on in the courſe you are in, and yet deſire freely to appear, and be accounted the *Conſervers*, and not *Conquerours* of the *liberty* of your Country-men, if you will not impoſe upon the people, as you ſay *Kings* have done; Nothing can be more ſutable to thoſe *pretences*, then to *declare moſt publickly*, that it ſhall be free for every man to *ſubſcribe*, whether he doth deſire this totall *change* by you tendred in the draught of your *Repreſentative*, or the continuance of the preſent eſtabliſhed Government, (with an aſſurance of your ſubmiſſion thereunto.) 4. 'Tis (upon ſuppoſition that all *power* is *originally* in the *People*) moſt undeniable and clear, that nothing but the *conſent* of each perſon (at leaſt of a *major part* of the whole being convoked together) can diveſt any one, or more men of that their ſuppoſed *Originall right*; and conſequently, that other mens

ſaying that they are not *Godly*, and that themſelves are ſo, can never exclude them from their *Birthright*; By which it will infallibly be concluded, that all thoſe that have adhered to the KING all this time, or that favour'd the *Votes of the two Houſes*, which reſolved the KING's late Conceſſions at *Newport* to be a fit ground of peace (whatſoever cenſure or brand is by you ſet upon them) are as much to be conſidered to the making up the *community* of the *People*, as any others. And if ſo, Let it then be conſidered by all equall minded men, what a *violation* it is of thoſe *Rights*, which you pretend to vindicate, what an invaſion of the *naturall freedome* of your Brethren (by you acknowledged, the *inheritance* of *each* man) to force them againſt their *Wills*, with their very great incommodation and detriment, to *revert* to that *liberty*, which is by you ſuppoſed to belong to all *naturally*, but without which we of this Nation have happily lived, under the farre greater advantages of *Regall government*. And yet ſo contrary to this *principle* have you now proceeded, that when you have thus throwne us back into our firſt *chaos* againe, onely that you may reduce our *liberty*, you then immediately by your *Repreſentative* ſo bind us up, that we are not permitted, upon whatſoever emergency, to caſt our ſelves into any *new forme*, although the exchange ſhould appeare never ſo advantageous, and gainfull to us; which beſides that, it is an evidence of your inward *feare*, that the change now deſigned will be ſoone repented of againe, is certainly ſo farre from being an *enlarging*, that it is the *retrenching* of our *liberty*, and denying us that *freedome*, of which the moſt *barbarous* and the moſt *civilized* People have been equally partakers, when ſubjection ſeemed better for their turnes. As beſide the examples of the *Servants* in *Exodus*, which are there ſuppoſed ſometimes to preferre their ſervitude to their Maſters before the priviledge of the *Sabbaticke yeare*, we find practiſed by the *Campanians*, who voluntarily caſt themſelves at the feet, and ſurrendred themſelves into the *power* of the *Romans*, to purchaſe thereby that right of being *protected* by them; & by many *Barbarians* in *Appian*, who ſent *Embaſſadours* to *Rome* on purpoſe to petition the favor of being receivd into the number of their *ſubjects*.

I have inſiſted the longer upon this, in obedience to your owne *invitation*; which was alſo a great *motive* and *encouragement* to

make this whole *addreſſe* to you, and gives me aſſurance of your kind *reception* of it.

The laſt principle to be review'd is this, That there having been much *bloud* ſpilt in this Kingdome in the late Warres, there muſt now be ſome *ſacrifice* offer'd to *God* (*i. e.* ſome more *bloud* ſhed) for the *expiation* of that ſinne of *bloudguiltineſſe*, before *God* can be *pacified*, or *reconciled* to the *Land*. On which particular, it will firſt be worth your ſerious enquiry, how it ſhould appeare that that great iſſue of *bloud*, let out in the late Warres (which hath with great reaſon been lookt on, as the ſharpeſt of *Gods plagues*, and the ſaddeſt part of *puniſhment* of the former ſinnes of this Nation) is now the maine, and onely *ſinne* of the Land, with which God is not *reconciled*: Or 2. if it were ſuppoſed to be ſo, yet how it can be thought that a *generall Reformation* of that ſinne, an *humiliation* before God for it, through the whole Land, and a *reſolution* never to *ſpill one drop* more, were not a more *Chriſtian* probable meanes to *pacifie God*, than the proceeding in cold bloud to the *effuſion* of *more*: The *bloud* of *men* being never thought a fit ſacrifice for any, but the evill Spirit; and *peaceable-mindedneſſe*, and *charity*, and the *contrite heart* being the ſpeciall, if not onely *ſacrifices*, which we find mention'd in the Goſpel. Or 3. how it can appeare that if *God* require any ſuch *ſacrifice*, you, or any but thoſe whom the knowne Lawes of the Land have placed in a Tribunall (and that legally erected for *ſuch cognizances*) have any right to put your ſelves into the office of *Gentile Prieſts*, as the onely Perſons appointed to *ſlay that ſacrifice*. Nay 4. it will be worth your obſerving, that *Chriſt* diſclaimed the *office* of a *Judge*, and thereby rendred very unfit for any of you to put your ſelves unto that *office* by vertue of no other title, but that of being his *Diſciples*. And laſtly, it is worth your ſaddeſt thought, Whether by your preſent *Councell*, and the *neceſſity* by you ſuppoſed of *changing* the *former Government*, it doe not now appeare, that the *defence* of the *eſtabliſhed Lawes* was on the KING's part the occaſion of His taking *Armes*, and on *Your* parts, the deſigne of *altering* thoſe *Lawes*, and introducing *others* more ſutable to your inclinations. And if now by a *civill* or *martiall* courſe, in an *arbitrary* way of triall, contrary to the *Lawes* eſtabliſhed, it ſhould be by you thought fit to proceed

ceed to *blood* againſt thoſe whom engagements have been for the *defence* of thoſe *eſtabliſht Lawes*: Let it be conſider'd, how *impolitick* this may be, and what matter of *diſcouragement* to all that ſhall be intruſted with the managery, or *defence* of future *Government*: Which ſingle conſideration will, I hope, abate much of your deſigned *severity*. But if *God* ſhould permit you to go on undiſturb'd to the *ſhedding* of *more blood*, as the *Jewes* did from other lower acts to the *crucifying their King*: How poſſible were it, not onely that this ſhould prove the provoking of *God* to *deliver you up for ever to your owne hearts* luſts, but be to the whole *Nation* a *filling up the meaſure of our iniquities*, and the forerunner of all the *calamities*, that can befall a People.

Having mention'd the *weakneſſe*, and *fallibleneſſe* of theſe few *principles*, I ſhall leave you to the farther conſideration of the *frailneſſe*, and *danger* of thoſe *ſuperſtructures*, which ſhall be erected on any, or all of theſe. And if there were never a *God* in the world to avenge them, yet the experience now before your eyes, how eaſie it is for *principles* taken up for mens preſent *advantages* to prove within a while moſt *diſadvantageous*, and pernicious to them (as the *weapons* of a *diſarmed man* turn'd into his *owne breaſt*) may infuſe into you that *feare* and *temper*, that *caution*, and *moderation*, and timely *wiſdome*, which the Authour of this Addreſſe may be otherwiſe too unskilful to *impreſſe* on you: Who yet, if he might any way be uſefull to you, doth profeſſe to be ready to contribute his utmoſt endeavour to your ſervice, if it be but thereby to demonſtrate to you, how *juſt* it is for him (and what a *duty*, and *obligation* of *charity* toward you) to intercede daily at the *throne of grace*, that *God* would *molliſie* your hearts toward the KING, and all His *conſcientious faithfull* Subjects, or elſe interpoſe his *hand*, to reſcue His *Royall Perſon* out of your *power*; believing confidently, that, if God have any remainders of *mercy* for this *Kingdome*, or the true *Proteſtant profeſſion* in it, he will in his good time heare and anſwer this prayer of all true *Engliſhmen*, and among them of

Your Lordſhips humble Servant,

*Jan.*15.1648.

H. HAMMOND.

FINIS.

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